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THE POTENTIALS OF WORLD COMMUNISM - MIDDLE AND NEAR EAST
PART II: INDIA

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Division of Research for Near East and Africa
OFFICE OF INTELLIGENCE RESEARCH

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THE POTENTIALS OF WORLD COMMUNISM - INDIA

I. POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CLIMATE IN INDIA

In August 1947, India was granted full dominion status with complete self-government and the right to sever connections with the British Commonwealth. At the same time, the old geographico-political entity of India was destroyed with the creation of Pakistan. The effects of partition and India's new status have profoundly affected the life of the nation both politically and economically.

A. Political Features

When the British withdrew they handed over power to the leaders of the Indian National Congress. That party had won a majority in the general elections of 1946 and, with the advent of partition, formed a one-party government. It is the party now in power at the center and in all Indian provinces. In spite of some experience acquired when Congress governments held office in the provinces between 1937 and 1939, the party leaders are poorly equipped for the enormous administrative responsibilities they have assumed. India's problems have been greatly increased by the communal riots and consequent mass migrations, involving both India and Pakistan, which followed partition of the country; the delicate negotiations involving the separate Indian States which led to their incorporation into India; the continuing disputes with Pakistan over various territories. Inefficiency, maladministration, and corruption, together with the Government's inability to carry out its promised reforms, have created widespread dissatisfaction.

Opposition, however, is unorganized and ineffective. Before August 1947, the Muslim League was the chief rival of the National Congress, but its objectives were obtained with the creation of Pakistan. The Muslims who remain in India have fore-sworn communal politics; the League itself has practically ceased to exist in India. The Socialist Party is of some importance, but only potentially. Formed in 1934 as a left wing of the Indian National Congress, the Congress Socialist Party, as it was then

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known, remained an integral part of the Congress organization until 1948. Its members were ipso facto members of the Congress and shared Congress objectives. When, after self-government was achieved, the Socialists broke away from the parent organization, they formed the independent Socialist Party of India. The party today is top-heavy. It consists primarily of earnest and intelligent leaders, but their followers are a small and unreliable group. Socialists claim to be the only true Marxian party in India. They resemble more the left-wing Socialists in England than the Social Democratic groups in Europe. At the present time their political power is slight.

The Communist Party has so far offered no serious threat to the political supremacy of the National Congress. A number of other small leftist groups exist, but they function only locally. The only other political party of any national significance is the Hindu Mahasabha (Association). The party is an old one, the counterpart of the Muslim League. It is still a communal organization with the aim of setting up a Hindu government. There are fascist elements in it. After some of its members were accused of Gandhi's murder, the party was banned but permission has recently been given it to function legally. It must be pointed out that only a small minority of the Indian people have sufficient political education to distinguish among the issues emphasized by the various parties.

B. Economic Features

India's economy is mainly agrarian and 70 percent of her total working population is engaged in agriculture. In spite of this fact, India has a large food deficit due chiefly to uneconomic methods of cultivation. Outmoded systems of land tenure and heavy indebtedness have led to widespread agrarian unrest. Reforms have been an important plank in the political programs of the National Congress, the Socialists, and the Communists. Several provincial governments have introduced bills providing for reform measures but the difficulty of financing such schemes has so far been insuperable.

Industry, including trade and transport, provides occupation for approximately 18 percent of the working population, but large-scale industry regulated by factory

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legislation, railways, mines, and plantations has absorbed only 3 percent of the total working population. Unsatisfactory living conditions and low wages have created discontent among the laboring classes. The war brought about expansion of industry and a great increase in the number of workers. Retrenchment plus a rise in the cost of living 200-300 percent have resulted in further deterioration in labor relations. The trade union movement, dating from 1920, has succeeded so far in organizing only a small fraction of Indian laborers.

The economic program of the present government stresses the achievement of self-sufficiency in food and increased industrial production. The magnitude of the problems faced, however, makes it unlikely that substantial improvement in the general economic situation can be brought about in the near future.

II. PRESENT STATUS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

The Communist Party of India (CPI), now twenty-five years old, is a well-organized, compact group with able leadership and a loyal, disciplined body of members. Although it has never achieved the status of a mass movement, the Communist Party has exercised considerable influence among laborers and peasants. Its political successes have been negligible.¹

Today the CPI is under close surveillance by the central government and all provincial governments. It remains a legal organization, although the party's branch in Bengal is temporarily banned and its English-language weekly, the People's Age (published in Bombay), is also banned. At the moment, virtually all the top leaders of the party are imprisoned as a result of provincial government action taken in 1946 and again in February-March 1949 after the recent strike threats. Estimates of the

1. The basic materials in this report are drawn almost wholly from the following: Recent Developments in Communist Policy and Tactics in India and Pakistan, OIR Report No. 4652, June 11, 1948; CONFIDENTIAL; The USSR and the Colonial Problem: Part II, India, OIR Report No. 3489.2, April 8, 1947, CONFIDENTIAL; and The Communist Party of India, R & A, No. 2681, August 1945, UNRESTRICTED.

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number of Communists recently jailed range up to 1,000; the total figure of those now in prison -- including those imprisoned in 1946 -- is therefore higher.

Geographically, Communism is strongest in Bengal; in urban areas of Bombay Province; and, in southern India, in Madras, and the Malabar Coast. In East Punjab, too, Communists have had a considerable following. Because of recent successes in creating disturbances in Hyderabad State where they have temporarily seized control of some districts that area must be added as a Communist stronghold.

Indian Communists have achieved their greatest success in the trade union movement; up to 1948 they effectively controlled a major portion of India's organized labor. Although CPI influence in the trade union movement is now on the decline, the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), completely dominated by Communists, has approximately 800,000 members according to the most recent (1948) official count. The Indian National Trade Union Congress, sponsored by the Indian National Congress, now has a larger membership. It is impossible to estimate the number of peasants controlled or influenced by Communists. In terms of total rural area, Communist-infiltrated districts are small and scattered. However, where they have concentrated their energies, Communists have made headway among the peasantry and have proved extremely difficult to dislodge.

A. Membership

Communists claim a party membership of 90,000. There is no means of accurately estimating this claim; Indian Communists are known to exaggerate membership figures and 60,000 is a more probable maximum. This represents an enormous increase over the 1942 membership of 2,000 and indicates the important fact that the principal development of the party in terms of numbers occurred during and immediately after the war.

In the top leadership and presumably in the rank and file, intellectuals predominate. Although a number of trade union leaders and peasant organizers are party members, the proportion of workers and peasants in the party membership is not known; Communist data on such points are not reliable. The majority of known Communists are Hindus, and many of the leaders are Brahmins. In the party membership as a whole are

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many ex-members of the Party, Congress, and particularly ex-Congress-Socialists. Some of the most prominent members of the Congress Socialist Party, particularly in South India, joined the Communist Party in 1939-42. Until 1945 Communists were permitted to be members of the Indian National Congress, and many of them held high offices in the organization. A fairly numerous and important group in the Bengal branch of the party consists of ex-terrorists, and in the Punjab many former members of the Ghadr (Revolution) Party, a few of whom had been trained in the USSR, joined the Communists during the 1930's.

B. Leadership

Most observers agree that Indian Communists are led by young and vigorous men of high caliber. Top leaders have served the party devotedly; most of them have endured imprisonment at various times, have gained experience in using violent techniques of agitation, and are prepared to make full sacrifices for the party's cause. Very few Indian Communist leaders have been trained in Moscow or have gained revolutionary experience abroad. So far, no compelling personalities commanding mass appeal have arisen from Communist ranks.

During the early days of the movement in India, Communists followed Comintern policies, but for the most part had very little outside direction. From 1926 until India was declared independent, British Communists -- among them R. Palme Dutt, chairman of the International Committee of the British Communist Party -- exercised considerable guidance. Since 1947, and particularly since the establishment of diplomatic relations between India and the USSR, Indian Communists have looked directly to Moscow.

Generally speaking, the top leadership of the Indian Communist Party has remained unchanged since 1933. The outstanding exception is P.C. Joshi, general secretary until March 1948. He was removed from this position when the party adopted a new Draft Thesis in 1948 because, according to report, he favored a policy of supporting leftist elements in the government whenever possible, and opposed a militant program of uncompromising struggle. It has been reported since that he was expelled from the

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party. In the absence of confirmation or further explanation, Joshi's present position in the party must be considered uncertain. Presumably he still has some following among Indian Communists and it may be that he will again emerge as a leader if the new policy of the CPI proves to be untenable or impractical in the present circumstances.

Joshi was replaced by B.T. Ranadive, the present general secretary of the party. Ranadive is considered able, and an actionist. He has had long experience in the labor movement and has been a member of the party since its inception. S.A. Dange, India's foremost Communist labor leader, and from 1947 to 1949, president of the AITUC, is another outstanding party leader. G.M. Adhikari, editor of the party weekly, People's Age, was one of the organizers of the party and continues to be one of its most able and prominent leaders. Of these, Dange is in jail, and the others have gone underground.

III. HISTORICAL REVIEW

A. 1920-34

The Communist Party of India has its roots in a Communist movement dating back to 1920. During the first decade Indian Communists, organizationally very weak, concentrated on building a militant labor movement. Their efforts succeeded to the extent that in 1924 and again in 1929, following strike waves, Communist labor leaders were jailed on charges of conspiracy. In 1930 a small group of Communists who had avoided imprisonment issued the Draft Program of Action. The independence of India, to be achieved by agrarian revolution, was declared the party's first objective. The National Congress was denounced as an organization of capitalists working against the revolutionary emancipation of India, and accused of betraying the national struggle. When the leftist movement in the National Congress began to take shape under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru in 1931 and later, when the Congress Socialist Party was organized in 1934, Communists attacked the "left nationalists" as "playing a primary role in the task of deceiving and disorganizing the masses."

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In 1933 the Indian Communists numbered approximately 150. A Provisional Central Committee was formed in the same year, but the party lacked organization and consisted of groups of workers in several centers functioning more or less independently.

In 1934 the Government of India placed a ban on all Communist organizations. From that time until 1942, the Communists worked underground.

B. 1934-42

Indian Communists, following the Comintern line, adopted the united front policy in 1936. This led to a radical change in policy and tactics with regard to the National Congress, which was now regarded as a peoples' organization. Communists consequently supported the Congress Party governments which held office in the provinces during 1937-39. The united front policy was of advantage to the Communists in that it permitted them, while officially under ban, to work openly as members of the National Congress and the Congress Socialist Party. Between 1934 and 1942 the party membership rose from 150 to 2,000 and the new policy was largely responsible for this growth.

When war broke out the Communists strongly supported the Congress Party in trying to obtain from the British Government definite promises concerning India's postwar status. The Soviet Union's involvement in the war in June 1941 intensified the demands of the Communists, who distinguished between a Soviet "people's war" and the British "imperialists' war."

Following the failure of the Cripps Mission in India, the Indian National Congress increased its efforts in opposition to the war, while Indian Communists, in conformity with the international Communist line, began actively to support the anti-Fascist war against Japan. In July 1942 Communists were released from jail and their party legalized.

C. 1942-47

Between 1942 and 1947 Communists achieved their greatest strength. They built up party membership, greatly extended their influence in the labor movement, and gained a large measure of control of the peasants organized in the All India Kisan Sabha

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(Peasant Society).

During the war, the Communists followed the united front policy to the extent of agitating for release of Congress prisoners. Congress leaders, however, considered that the Communists had betrayed the struggle for independence by supporting the war, and in 1945 Communists were forced to resign from the National Congress.

During this period of far-reaching political change in India, Communists played a very small part in political developments. In the 1946 elections they contested a number of seats in provincial legislative assemblies, but only eight of their candidates throughout India were elected. One member of the Constituent Assembly, as it was composed before partition, was a Communist.

After Congress assumed office in the provinces and at the center, Communists followed a modification of the united front policy and supported leftist elements in the government.

IV. PRESENT OBJECTIVES

At the CPI Congress in February 1948, Communists entered a new period, after a searching examination of their problems. At the same time, they replaced P.C. Joshi, then general secretary of the party, with B.T. Ranadive.

In the present Communist view, India's independence from Britain is only specious. According to the party's interpretation, India's new status is the result of a "deal" between British "imperialism" and the Indian "bourgeoisie" by which the nationalist leaders were made "junior partners" in the State. The revolutionary struggle to liberate India from British domination must therefore continue, and the Communist Party must be built up in order to lead the revolutionary forces. A new united front is to be formed consisting of workers, peasants, and the middle classes or petty bourgeoisie. In this fighting alliance the working class must take the lead.

The immediate program of the party calls for intensified efforts in the labor field and among the peasant population. Communists endeavor to take advantage of the

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existing situation to encourage unrest, and to foment strikes and agrarian disorders wherever possible. An important aspect of the work is cultural activities through various front organizations designed to gain converts and to build up sympathy for Communism and the USSR. The reverse side of this program demands increased propaganda against "Anglo-American imperialism."

Indian Communists have abandoned their cooperation with leftist elements of the Congress Party and have begun to advocate open opposition to the national "bourgeois" regimes in both India and Pakistan. Viewed as a whole, the important policy shifts of 1948 continued the CPI's alignment with world Communist policy. It ended confusion in party ranks growing out of wartime compromises and long-term CPI vacillation in dealing with the Indian nationalist movement.

P. C. Joshi, the former secretary of the party, appears to have favored a more pro-Congress policy than the CPI now professes. At an earlier stage, Joshi was apparently backed in this view by R. Palme Dutt of England. Indeed, in June 1947 a CPI conference in India accepted the Dutt-Joshi policy of collaboration with the Congress Party and on August 15, 1947 Communists joined all India in celebrating the end of British rule. The policy shifts of 1948 indicate that the CPI continued to follow international Communist policies laid down by the first Cominform resolutions; other evidence -- the shift in India came immediately after the arrival in December 1947 of Soviet Ambassador Novikov in New Delhi -- tends to support the view that the Soviet Union is now taking a more direct interest in Indian affairs.

The policy change of 1948 was originally presented in India as the Draft Thesis of February 15, 1948 -- just before the second CPI Congress that adopted it. The Draft Thesis followed the first Cominform resolutions with few significant qualifications growing out of conditions peculiar to India. It proclaimed the "two-camp" theory, and characterized the Nehru government as an instrument incapable of carrying out the people's will. The program of action presented in the Draft Thesis advocated cooperation with the USSR for both economic development and defense. It also reaffirmed the

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principle of provincial administrative reorganization based on the self-determination of culturally distinct groups with rights of secession. Privilege based on caste or race was to be abolished. Other proposals included the outright confiscation of landed wealth and British holdings, and a radical purge of "unprogressive" elements in the civil service and armed forces.

As more fully elaborated in 1949, CPI policy envisages two successive stages of revolutionary achievement in India. The first stage is now under way -- the establishment of the "Democratic Dictatorship of Workers and Peasants", or the creation of the "People's Democratic State". The aim during this stage is the "overthrow of the political rule of the bourgeoisie." In the second stage, the CPI anticipates that the Socialist struggle to nationalize land and large-scale industries on the part of the "People's Democracy" will eventually, and perhaps quickly, pass into the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat".¹ Since these stages are regarded by Indian Communists as interlaced, they consider a possible telescoping of the entire process, and condemn as "opportunistic" any assumption that emancipation from colonial status will be followed by a long period of capitalist development. This conviction of continued revolution is reenforced by the assumption that tension between the Socialist bloc and "imperialist" Western states will persist.

V. ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

A. Political

Indian Communists have succeeded so far in winning very little political power. There is no Communist member in the Central Legislative Assembly which sits also as the Constituent Assembly to frame the new constitution. Nor are there any Communists in higher ranks of government administration or at top levels in the various military and

1. See "On People's Democracy" and "On the Agrarian Question" in the Communist (Bombay), January 1949.

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policy establishments. Provincial governments are free of Communists in key administrative positions, so far as can be learned. In some provincial assemblies and municipal corporations, however, Communists for several years have held seats by virtue of provincial and local elections.

Indian Communists face political opposition from three sources: the Indian National Congress, the Socialist Party, and the Hindu Mahasabha. In spite of disruptive tendencies, the National Congress, under its present leadership, can be expected to hold together and retain majority support. Communists have frequently attributed their failure in the elections of 1946, which they contested as an independent party, to the limited electorate, and predicted greater success in the elections scheduled for 1950 to be held with full adult suffrage. The fact remains that Congress has at its disposal an efficient machine, well-provided with funds, and even with full adult suffrage Communist gains at the polls will be negligible.

Communists will also face bitter and increasingly effective opposition from the Socialist Party. If a split should eventually occur in the Congress ranks, the Socialist Party will gain adherents and may emerge as the dominant group. Socialism presents an alternative to Communism and is not hampered by association with a foreign power. Voters dissatisfied with Congress policies who might otherwise turn to Communism can be expected to support the Socialist Party in increasing numbers.

Another opposing force is the Hindu Mahasabha. Certain political and cultural tendencies suggest that the Mahasabha may eventually become a political factor of some importance. If this happens, Communists will face determined opposition from this source.

The National Congress, which presumably will remain in power, possess the necessary strength and determination to deal promptly and efficiently with any attempts to disrupt essential services. Up to the present the Government of India has refrained from banning the Communist Party in order to maintain good relations with the USSR, but it has not hesitated, when a crisis threatened, to take action against individual Com-

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munists. In the future, Indian foreign policy will probably be less neutral than at present and India's government leaders will be less hesitant about offending the USSR. If necessary the CPI will be placed under complete ban. Neither army nor police has proved a fertile field for Communist activity, and these two services can be counted on to carry out government orders.

B. Trade Unions

Indian Communists have had their greatest success in organizing industrial workers. By 1945 the CPI dominated the principal central labor organization, the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), with strong affiliates among textile workers, railwaymen, transport labor and others. Although in 1948 the AITUC had over 800,000 members, the AITUC has now lost its status as the most representative labor body in India and is outranked in membership and influence by the Congress-dominated Indian National Trade Union Congress. Until recently Communist unions formed an important section of the All India Railwaymen's Federation (AIRF), but were disaffiliated after taking an independent stand and voting to strike in 1949. According to report, they have been joined by some other leftist unions and the Communists may attempt to set up their own central organization of railway unions. It is doubtful, however, that they will be able successfully to compete for membership with the AIRF and the Congress-led Indian National Railway Workers' Federation.

Hitherto, one of the main reasons for Communist success in the labor field has been lack of effective opposition. During World War II, when the Communists doubled the membership of the AITUC, Congress and Socialist labor leaders who had played a major role in building up the AITUC were in jail. Its chief rival, the Indian Federation of Labor, became discredited as a result of accepting government subsidies, and some of its most important unions, which had broken away from the AITUC between 1940 and 1944, rejoined the latter organization.

Communists no longer have the advantage of a relatively clear field. But the low standard of living and genuine economic grievances favor the growth of Communism

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among the laboring classes in spite of organized opposition. Communists have had their greatest successes among the industrial workers because starvation wages, unsatisfactory conditions of employment, and housing unfit for human habitation incline the laboring groups to any ideology that promises relief. Furthermore, the Indian worker, uprooted from his village, is maladjusted in his new social environment and ready to seek a solution to his problems in novel and radical methods. Problems created by independence, partition, and a policy of rapid industrialization will not be solved for some years to come. Adequate improvement will be slow and to the extent that Indian workers remain an exploited group, Communism will continue to find followers.

On the other hand, Indian workers do not form a separate class as the term is used in the West. It has been said that there is no proletariat in India and this is correct in the sense that the worker remains half-peasant. As a result, only a small fraction of the laboring population is permanently industrial and there is an extremely high turnover in factory employment. This leads to lack of solidarity among the workers and is not conducive to the growth of a proletarian core on which the Communist party can count.

Communist policy in the labor field has sometimes been unrealistic in terms of the general Indian situation, political as well as economic. At times Communists have appeared willing to sacrifice their immediate objectives in order to follow a long-term policy designed to serve world Communism. Tactics adopted in both the AITUC and the AIRF during the last two years have isolated Communists from the main trade union movement, and placed them in a position where they are extremely vulnerable to repressive measures. Their influence among the laboring classes is at least temporarily on the decline.

C. The Peasant Movement

Before 1942, Communists made little headway in organizing peasants. The Draft Program of Action adopted in 1930 called for confiscation of landlords' estates, cancellation of agricultural indebtedness, and nationalization of irrigation. It set

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Communists the immediate task of establishing revolutionary peasant committees to organize no-rent campaigns and political demonstrations, and to develop political consciousness among the peasants. But very little was accomplished along these lines. Unlike the industrial classes who are concentrated in a few centers, and who had a central trade union organization, Indian peasants are scattered over a vast, often not easily accessible, territory and had no central organization to sponsor their interests until 1936 when the All India Kisan Sabha (AIKS) was established. A group of Congress Socialists who later became members of the CPI were instrumental in organizing and directing this movement. In 1942 peasant leaders in the National Congress and the Congress Socialist Party were imprisoned. Faced with little or no opposition, the Communists succeeded in gaining control over the organization. The AIKS held occasional meetings and passed resolutions; but the field is enormous and Communists, concentrating on the industrial population, had few trained workers to spare for the peasant organization. When the jailed Congress members and Socialists were released in 1945 and the anti-Communist forces combined, Communists were isolated in the AIKS and the organization -- never very vigorous -- declined still further in influence.

The AIKS failed to develop into a strong effective instrument of Communist policy for the principal reason that it had no firm base in local and provincial branches. Since 1945, Communists have concentrated their energies in a few small areas where they have achieved considerable success. Communism has taken root in the peasant population in East Bengal, now a part of Pakistan; among the Warlis, an aboriginal group in Bombay; among the peasants of Malabar; and particularly in the southern districts of Hyderabad, an area of 10,000 square miles bordering on Madras Province.

The Communists' most spectacular success has been in Hyderabad, where they have been active since 1940. There they have brought about the seizure of large estates and redistribution of land, abolition of agricultural indebtedness, and provision of educational facilities. Assisted by lack of law and order and the

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generally unsettled conditions resulting from the invasion of Hyderabad by the Indian Army, Communists consolidated their hold. In spite of continued action by military and police to dislodge them, Communists are still in control of a large area. Communists use terroristic methods against recalcitrant peasants to enforce their program, but it is probable that they have won adherents among the peasantry generally by their practical measures of land reform.

Indian peasants, like the laborers, form a group whose poverty makes it a natural field for Communist activity. Heavy indebtedness, outmoded systems of land tenure, and oppressive rents are excellent targets for Communist propaganda. Since 87 percent of the Indian population is illiterate, the peasants are in no position to adopt a critical attitude toward such propaganda.

Poverty and ignorance, however, are two-edged weapons. Poverty with its consequent malnutrition produces apathy and ignorance which lead to ready acceptance of any leadership, not only that offered by Communists. Leaders of other political parties have recently increased their attempts to gain peasant recruits. Moreover, ameliorative measures proposed by the Government of India for the welfare of workers and peasants will eradicate, if only partially, some of the major causes of discontent that would otherwise lead to Communist successes.

D. Front Organizations

Indian Communists have used the familiar tactic of front organizations and have fostered Indian-Soviet cultural relations in the attempt to broaden their influence. Organizations employed with varying success are the All India Students' Federation, the All-India Women's Conference, the Friends of the Soviet Union, the Progressive Writers' Association, and the Indian Peoples' Theater Association.

In the student movement Communists compete with nationalist and Socialist groups. The membership of the Communist-dominated All India Students' Federation, about 60,000, falls below that of the Congress-sponsored All India Students' Congress. However, the Federation is very active and by means of student demonstrations and

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strikes has been a useful tool in the party's hands. Its members have played an active part in the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

Communists have never controlled the All India Women's Conference, and recently their influence in the organization has declined. However, the Conference has provided them with a platform for propaganda.

Of the other three organizations, the Friends of the Soviet Union (FSU) is the most important. Originally a non-political organization in which individuals of various shades of leftist opinion participated, the FSU is now largely dominated by Communists, and up to the present the party has been able to make good use of it. The FSU has played up the features of Soviet life and Communist theory that were most attractive to many Indians; the economic planning system of the USSR, its rapid industrial advance, its cultural and educational development, the apparent lack of racial bias, and anti-imperialistic policies. However, there is evidence that such attitudes are being counterbalanced by growing recognition that the USSR offers a threat to world security. The FSU can be expected to decline in influence as a consequence. Furthermore, it is now under police surveillance.

E. Social and Religious Factors

A number of theoretic concepts and behavior patterns connected with cultural and religious aspects of Indian life will act as a check on the growth of Communism, while certain other concepts appear to favor the spread of Communist ideology.

The idea of class collaboration is deeply rooted in Hindu society, and caste loyalty will hinder the development of class consciousness in the Communist sense. Thus concerted and persistent action by multi-caste groups will be difficult. The following concepts, moreover, encourage the individual to endure present-day misfortune in the hope that by so doing he will improve his future condition: the idea of fate, the belief that present conditions are the result of past actions, the certainty of future lives in the world through reincarnation, and the supreme duty of obedience to caste rules.

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Nationalism, based partly on a mystical reverence for the land of India and closely tied up with religious concepts, is extremely strong. National pride often takes the form of an assumption that India's destiny is to civilize the world. There is a tendency to idealize India's past and to build on the traditional organization of society. Such sentiments do not accord with any proposal to borrow a relatively new social system originated in the West.

On the other hand, Communism in India will not have to contend with certain ideals, fostered by democracy in the West, which offer a challenge to applied Communism. For example, there is in India no idea of the fundamental equality of man. Hindu society is hierarchic; certain individuals are born to be rulers, others born to be ruled. Human life and, in certain respects, the individual, are of little value. Hinduism, furthermore, is a non-dogmatic religion -- an atheist can be an orthodox Hindu -- and no organized form of worship exists by means of which Communist propaganda might be counteracted.

In summary, it may be said that certain conditions, chiefly economic, favor the growth of Communism in India. However political opposition will make it impossible for the Communist Party to achieve power at any time in the foreseeable future.

APPENDIX

Division of Biographic Information

BIOGRAPHIC NOTES ON SIGNIFICANT COMMUNISTSGeneral Secretary of the CPI:

RANADIVE, Bhalchandra Trimbak.*
 JOSHI, Puran Chander.*

(Since March 1948)
 (c. 1937-March 1948)

Members of the Central Committee Panel (Final choice of members not known.)

ADHIKARI, Gangadhar Moreshwar*
 AHMED, Moulavi Z.A.*
 AWSAR, Ram
 BARUCHA, Perin
 DANGE, Shripat Amrit*

GHOSH, Ajoy Kumar*

JOGLEKAR, K.N.*

KUMARAMANGALAM, Mohan*
 LAHIRI, Somnath*

MUKHERJEE, Biswanath*
 MUKHERJEE, Saroj
 OAK, L. K. *
 OSMAN, Moulavi
 RAO, M.B.*
 RAO, Raja Gopal
 SEN, Bhowani*
 SEN, Ranen*
 SHAH, Kantilal J.*
 SINGH, Jokhan

Editor of the People's Age
 President, United Provinces Kisan Sabha
 United Provinces
 East Punjab
 President All India Trade Union Congress.
 Secretary of the Communist Party in the Punjab
 Vice President, All India Trade Union Congress
 Son of prominent Madras family
 President, Bengal Province Communist Party
 Prominent Bengal Communist
 Bengal
 Bombay
 United Provinces
 Managing Editor, People's Age
 Bejwada
 From Bengal
 From Bengal
 From Mysore

Former members of the Central Committee:

AHMED, Musaffar*
 CHARI, Avoor Shrinivas R.*

JOSH, Sohan Singh*
 MIRAJKAR, S. S.*

MUKHERJEE, Bankim*

NAMBOODRIPAD, E. M. Sankaran*

SUNDARAYYA, P. S.*

Ex-President, All India Kisan Sabha
 Former Correspondent of the London Daily Worker; Attorney for defense of leading Communists
 From East Punjab
 President, Bombay Provincial Trade Union Congress
 Prominent elder Communist leader in Bengal.
 Son of a raja, and wealthy contributor to Communist Party.
 Former Joint Secretary, Central Kisan Council, All India Kisan Sabha.

Other important Communists:

CHANDRA, Romesh*

GANDHI, Manek*

Staff member, People's Age. Member, General Council of AITUC in 1947.
 Acting General Secretary, All India Trade Union Congress.

*Indicates sketches included in Biographic appendix.

ADHIKARI, Gangadhar Moreshwar (Dr.)

Editor of the People's Age and member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India. Studied at Berlin University, receiving Doctorate of Science; while in Europe was in touch with M. N. Roy and other Communists; returned to India in 1928 and worked with Phillip Spratt in Bombay; was arrested and imprisoned in connection with the Meerut Conspiracy Case in 1929; was released in November 1933 and set to work to reorganize the Communist Party. He convened secretly a "provisional Central Committee" which formed a nucleus for future party operations and helped to organize a strike of Bombay Textile workers in 1934. Arrested in April of that year and upon release was exiled to a small town in Southern Bombay where he formed an underground organization when the Party was declared illegal. Remained underground as the chief companion of P. C. Joshi, Party head, until 1942 when the arrest-warrants pending against the two were withdrawn, presumably due to the intervention of Sir Stafford Cripps. In June 1943, he was elected to the Central Committee at the first Party Congress and in July took over the editorship of the People's War, now called People's Age, the Party organ, continuing in that capacity through 1948. Was a regular contributor to the Communist, monthly organ of the Party and usually wrote its "Article of the Month"; also listed as editor of Jana Yug (Hindi and Marathi publication in Bombay). Arrested January 1947 along with Romesh Chandra in a raid on the People's Age office but released on bail. He was delegate to the British Empire Communist Parties' Conference in London in February 1947. Adhikari played a prominent part in the Party's Second Congress held in Calcutta in March 1948; was in charge of the drafting of the amended constitution of the CPI and of its presentation to the Congress. In August 1948 the Bombay Police Commissioner issued an order demanding the surrender of Adhikari and other Communists within 14 days, but he is not known to have been apprehended. Adhikari is a scholarly intellectual and has spent much of his time in writing long treatises on political problems. He is reported to be by no stretch of the imagination a man of action. His job during the past few years has been to explain changes in the party line. One report stated in April 1948 that he was to be in charge of framing plans of the newly formed "Asian Cominform."

AHMED, Moulavi Z. A. (Dr. Z. A. AHMED)

Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India from the United Provinces. Formerly a prominent Congress Socialist and member of the All-India Congress Committee in 1939; took an active part in promoting Congress-League unity; joined the Communist Party in 1940 and has been a leader of the peasant movement in the United Provinces. Member of the Central Kisan Council of 1945-46 in the All-India Kisan Sabha. In February 1948 as President of the United Provinces Kisan Sabha he was warned against making speeches criticizing officials. His brother-in-law is Chandra Sekhar Saran of Allahabad whose home was searched during police raids of Communist Offices throughout India.

AHMAD, Muzaffar

Founder member of Communist Party of India, and Kisan leader in Bengal. Born 1890 in Sandvip Island, Noakhali, Bengal; son of late Mumshi Mansur Ali who was a Mukhtiar in Sandvip Court; Ahmad practised law at Sandvip; became president of the All-India Kisan Sabha; he organized the Communist Party in Bengal as a section of the Third Communist International, 1921; state prisoner in 1923; prosecuted in the (Cawnpore) Conspiracy Case, 1924 and sentenced to 4 years imprisonment; prosecuted in Meerut Communist Conspiracy Case, 1929-1933 and sentenced to transportation for life; sentence reduced to 3 years imprisonment. He took an active part in organizing Workers' and Peasants' Parties and became general secretary of this party in Bengal; was editor of its paper Ganavani; has been in Russia several times. Member of the Party's Central Committee in 1945; Member, Bengal Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of India; President, All-India Kisan Sabha, 1945-47. Inaugurated the open session of the Second Congress of the Communist Party of India on March 7, 1948 at Calcutta by hoisting the Red Flag; was arrested and detained without trial in April 1948 during the Government roundup of Communists.

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Leading member on the staff of the People's Age.

Son of Ramchandra; married to Perin Romesh Chandra who is also an active party member.

Has been associated with the People's Age for many years; was reporter of the Punjab Kisan Sabha Conference in 1945 and assistant editor of the paper in 1947. His article "Operation Asylum" on British repressive measures in 1947 led to his arrest shortly thereafter along with Dr. Adhikari, editor of the People's Age. Chandra was also a member of the General Council of All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) representing Lahore, Punjab, and a delegate from the Punjab Chaprasi Association at the AITUC Conference in Calcutta in February 1947. Out on bail since January 1947 again incarcerated in July 1948. Prior to this A. S. R. Chari, a leading Communist lawyer had been defending his case. In December 1948 Chandra went on a hunger strike in protest against jail conditions.

CHARI, Avoor Shrinivas R. (usually referred to as A.S.R. Chari)

Former member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Born about 1910; a lawyer, in 1944 he was listed as an Advocate of the High Court in Bombay and as a Correspondent for the London Daily Worker. During the war he was extremely active in promoting the Communist Party of India program, traveling widely throughout India. Delhi reporter for Communist Party during war and post war period. Chari successfully defended the People's War in litigation instigated by Fazl-ul-Huq on a charge of libel. Chari now writes for the People's Age and during the war covered efficiently such assignments as proceedings of the Central Legislative Assembly and important conferences. Well-liked among journalists. In 1945 was listed as a member of the Central Committee of the India Communist Party and in April 1948 with N. Batliwala was in charge of getting the Communist sponsored Leftist Front to set up three Indian central organizations. In June 1948 he was arrested in the Government round-up of prominent Communists. Chari is described as personable, earnest and intelligent. A December 1948 report states that Chari was defending the case against Romesh Chandra, another leading Communist when he himself was arrested.

DANGE, Shripat Amrit

One of top four Indian Communist leaders and President of AITUC. Born about 1900 in Bombay Province; married; Mrs. Dange is also active in the Bombay Labor movement. One of the founders of the Communist Party in India; first came to prominence in connection with the Cawnpore Conspiracy Case of 1924. 1926-27, was assistant Secretary of all India Trade Union Congress and became General Secretary of the Girni Kamgar Union in Bombay where he had been a labor organizer for several years. Was sentenced in the Meerut Conspiracy Case of 1929 and remained in jail until the end of 1935. Has spent in all over 13 years in jail. Last of the Bombay Communists under detention, he was released in February 1943. A member of the Presidium of the first Congress of the Party in June 1943 and chairman of its Opening Rally, he was elected to the Party's Central Committee and has served in that capacity ever since. Elected President of AITUC in 1943, and selected as a member of the Indian delegation, along with W.M. Joshi and V. R. Kalappa to the World Labor Conference in London 1945. Left for the Continent on April 29, 1944 and because of the postponement of the Conference, had an opportunity to tour the Continent and agitate for the workers' demands and support for the Indian workers. Dange returned to Bombay in December 1945 and began immediately agitating for higher wages, lower hours, Sunday holidays and recognition of the Girni Kamgar (Red Flag) Union. As a member of the Textile Control Board in 1945 and as Communist member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly from the Bombay Textile Mill Workers Electorate, he continued to push these demands. Played an active part in the 22nd Session of AITUC held in Calcutta in February 1947. Attended a meeting of the Executive Committee of the World Trade Union Federation of which he is a member in July 1946 and was the Indian representative at the conference of the World Federation

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of Trade Unions which opened in Prague in June 1947. Visited most of Europe, reporting that "England and France and Western Europe are finished". Attended the meeting of the Executive Bureau of the WFTU, Paris, November 19-25, 1947. Dange played an important part in the Party's Second Congress held in Calcutta in March 1948. Dange, Ranadive and P.C. Joshi who formed the Party's "Polit Bureau" drafted and put through a resolution urging that the working classes be organized to prepare for the proletarian revolution. One observer in discussing Dange's stand remarked that Dange makes no secret of the Communists' determination to do everything possible to disrupt the Government of India and the Provincial Governments. He was arrested on April 2, 1948 and has been detained without trial. He had been scheduled to attend the Rome Meeting of the WFTU in May but because of his arrest was replaced by Wickramasinghe, Communist leader from Ceylon. Dange has written for several Communist publications and is the author of numerous books and pamphlets, among them Gandhi vs. Lenin.

GANDHI, Maneklal Mohanlal (also: Manek Gandhi)

Acting General Secretary of All India Trade Union Congress and member, Communist Party. Born November 21, 1911, near Ahmedabad, Bombay Province; B.S. in Economics from Bombay University, 1935; failed to complete M.A. work; married Mansula Gandhi; no children.

Joined Communist Party in 1926; Joint Secretary Bombay Youth League 1928-30; founder and joint secretary, Indian Students' Federation, 1936-37; General Secretary, Karachi Warehouse Transport Workers' Union, 1940; Joint Secretary Gujerat Regional Council, AITUC, 1942-43; Secretary, Ahmedabad District, Communist Party, 1943-44; worked with mill workers in Ahmedabad to organize Communist dominated Mill Kamgar Union, 1942-45; appointed Assistant Secretary AITUC and editor of Trade Union Record, January 1945; attended ILO conference Geneva, 1947, visiting Britain and France, Attended meeting of ILO Textile Committee in Geneva, October 1948. It was his election by AITUC to this committee which was the immediate cause of N. M. Joshi's resignation from AITUC in October 1948, together with several non-Communist supporters. Gandhi was appointed acting General Secretary of the AITUC, a post he has held ever since. He described AITUC in November as the "only genuine revolutionary organization of the working class". A 1946 report describes him as follows: Emotional, excitable, highly intelligent and a power to reckon with in AITUC; one of the better type Labor leaders; an ardent Communist. He is not under arrest at present.

GHOSH, Ajoy Kumar (also given as Ajay and Ajai Kumar Ghosh)

Member of the Central Committee; active in Party activities since early days of Indian Communism; was arrested in connection with the Meerut Conspiracy Case, 1929-33. Was elected a member of the Central Committee at the first Congress of the Communist Party of India held in Bombay in May, 1943 and was continuing in that capacity in 1945. In April 1947 was Secretary of the Communist Party in the Punjab. Member of Central Committee panel, selected March 1948. In July 1948 he and his wife were arrested in Bombay during the round-up of top Communists.

JOGLEKAR, K. N.

Member of the Central Committee Panel. Active in Trade Union Work. President of the Engineering Workers' Union, (Red Flag), 1939 and President of the Press and Printing Kamgar Union (Red Flag) as of July 1943. While President of the Bombay B.D.D. Workers' Union, 1946, served as one of India's representatives to the Industrial Committee on Building, Civil Engineering and Public Works which opened in Brussels on November 25, 1946. Member of the General Council and Vice President of AITUC and a delegate of the Engineering Workers' Union, Bombay, February 1947. He was elected to the Central Committee Panel at the Second Congress of the Communist Party of India held in Calcutta February 28-March 6, 1948 and took an active part in discussions on the new Communist Party of India Constitution.

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Communist Party leader in the Punjab. Has been active in Communist affairs since the early days of Indian Communism. According to one source, he is one of twelve members of the Ghadr Party, an illegal revolutionary party active immediately prior to World War I and encouraged by Germany. Presided over the first All-India Workers and Peasants' Parties Conference in 1928 and was imprisoned in the Meerut Conspiracy case, 1929-1933. A member of the All India Kisan Sabha, he was its vice president 1944-1945 and was active in organizing Punjab peasants during these years. Elected in 1939 to Punjab Legislative Assembly and served as Chief Whip of the Congress Party in the Assembly. He was suspended on October 2, 1945 from the Provincial Committee of the Punjab Congress for violating the August 1942 Resolution to oppose the British war effort. Josh is one of the top Communist leaders in the Punjab and served on the Central Committee for several years following its creation in 1943. He is the editor of Jang-e-Azadi (Battle for Freedom), a Communist Party weekly published in Lahore before partition. Josh was arrested by the police of East Punjab in April 1948. He and Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna along with several others conducted a hunger strike in Yeovil Camp prison until the Government agreed to accept their demands for treatment as political prisoners and not C. Class Communal convicts. Josh is described as being very popular among the peasant classes of the Amritsar District.

JOSHI, Puran Chander

Former General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, until February, 1948. Born 1907, Almora, United Provinces; son of H. N. Joshi, of a Brahmin family of comfortable means and relatively high social standing; married Kalpana Dutta, who is also active in Communist movement under her maiden name; LL.B. 1926, and M.S. 1928, University of Allahabad; speaks English, Hindi, Gujarati, and Marathi. Joshi began work as an Indian Communist about 1926; was Secretary of the United Provinces Workers' and Peasants' Party and editor of its publication, the Kranti Kari, sometime before 1929; arrested in connection with the Meerut Conspiracy case and imprisoned, 1929-1933; passed law exams while in jail, 1929-1934; organized Communist Party in United Provinces after release; arrested and imprisoned for two more years, 1935-1937; General Secretary, Indian Communist Party, c.1937-1948; editor of National Front, 1937 - 1939; founder and editor of People's War, (now People's Age) 1942-1943; author of Forward to Freedom, supporting the war effort; Who Lives if Bengal Dies, on the Bengal famine; Final Bid for Freedom, and They Must Not Fail, etc. Replaced as General Secretary of the Communist Party by B. T. Ranadive, February 1948; rumored as leader of a new "Asian Cominform" April 1948; reported in the press to have been suspended by Communist Party Central Committee, c. February 1, 1949.

Joshi, described in most reports as a skillful writer and brilliant social and political analyst with intense convictions, but lacking the personality and speaking ability to become a popular leader, has been the foremost Indian Communist leader since the beginning of the party about 1926. Operating as an underground leader from 1937 until 1942, he came into special prominence during World War II when the Communist Party was legalized, and he gained prominence as an effective propagandist for the war effort. Since the war Joshi made public efforts to strengthen Nehru, and elements which he considered more progressive within the Indian National Congress, against Vallabhbhai Patel and big business elements, and was reportedly accused by B. T. Ranadive and his more radical Communist followers, of "right reformist deviations." The change of policy of the Communist Party of India in its Second Congress in February 1948, to an outright opposition to the new Congress Party Government of India, provided an occasion for Joshi's removal from the post of General Secretary. Although Joshi is reported to have renounced his heresies with the customary "self-criticism" and declared his wholehearted support of the new policy, his opponents apparently remained dissatisfied, or he may have made efforts to regain his position of leadership in the Communist high command. At any rate, he was reported suspended by the Communist Party about February 1, 1949. Sought by the police since July 1948, he has escaped arrest up to the present time.

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KUMARAMANGALAM, P. Mohan

Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India. Born about 1915; son of Dr. P. Subbarayan, recently resigned Home Minister and important landowner of Madras. Is well-educated. His brother P.P. Kumaramangalam, a colonel in the Indian Artillery was educated in both England and the United States. Both Mohan, his sister, Parvathi Kumaramangalam and the latter's husband are ardent Communists and according to reports, a source of considerable embarrassment to their father. In June 1948, when a group of Communist demonstrators were arrested in Madras, (Mohan and his sister being among them), a letter from Mrs. Subbarayan to her son warning him of the anti-Communist measures and advising him to go "underground" was intercepted by police.

Described as a clever organizer, Mohan has been an active party worker for many years. Elected to the first Central Committee in 1943 and reelected to the Committee panel at the March 1948 Congress in Calcutta. In July 1944 he was listed as Indian correspondent for the London Daily Worker and the New York Allied Labor News; a regular contributor to the People's Age and other Indian Communist periodicals, he has been referred to as the foreign correspondent of the Indian Communist Party. He was secretary of the Party's headquarters in Bombay in 1947 where his sister was also stationed. As member of the Central Committee, he has been the originator of several proposals for support of Nationalist movements in other colonial areas; no indication of his whereabouts since June 1948.

LAHIRI, Somnath

Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India, Graduate of Calcutta University; sentenced in the Meerut Conspiracy Case, 1929-33, and again imprisoned in 1936 for two years because of his affiliation with the Communist Party. He became a member of the Party's Central Committee in 1943 and was reelected to this post at the recent Congress in Calcutta in March, 1948. Active in the trade union movement in Calcutta, he was elected to the General Council of AITUC in 1943 and served as the Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union delegate to the AITUC session in Calcutta in February 1947. Elected to the Calcutta Corporation in 1944, he was one of four representatives who testified before the Famine Inquiry Commission in September of that year. Although defeated for election to the Bengal Legislative Assembly from the Tea Garden District he was elected as a member of the Constituent Assembly for Bengal. On March, 8, 1947 he was arrested, allegedly in connection with the tramway strike. In February 1948 he was the Communist Party signatory to the platform of the newly constituted United Left Front; and in August 1948 he is listed as President of the Bengal Provincial Communist Party and editor-in-chief of the Swadhinata, a Bengali daily suspended by the Government of Bengal.

MIRAJKAR, S. S.

President of the Bombay Provincial Trade Union Congress and former Communist Central Committee member.

Born 1900 in Bombay; has been in trade union work since 1920; was arrested in connection with the Meerut Conspiracy Case, 1929-33; while secretary of the British India Steam Navigation Company Staff Union; elected to the Communist Party Central Committee in 1943 and was in addition Assistant Secretary of AITUC; elected president of the Bombay Provincial Trade Union Congress, 1944 and appointed a member of the All India Textile Control Board replacing S. A. Dange; attended the ILO Conferences in 1945 and 1946 at Paris and Montreal respectively. In 1946 he was elected Vice-president of the All India Trade Union Congress and at the February 1947 AITUC session in Calcutta served as a member of the General Council and delegate of several Bombay unions including the Girni Kamgar Union (Red Flag). Mirajkar was one of seven Communist Party leaders elected to the Presidium of the Party at the second Congress held in Calcutta in March 1948 and a member of the 3 man Control Commission appointed at this Congress, to supervise secret activities of the Party and decide on questions of expulsion of members. A member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation since 1941, he was reelected to this post February 1948. In April he was arrested along with Dange and 5 other

Bombay Communists when police raided their headquarters in Bombay. He is still in jail. Recently he and three other Communist Corporators were declared to have forfeited their seats in view of their continued "absence without leave."

MUKHERJEE, Bankim

Communist leader in Bengal.

Arrested in connection with the Meerut Conspiracy Case, 1929-33; participated in First Congress of the Communist Party of India in 1943; President of the All-India Kisan Sabha 1943-1945 and President of the Bengal Railway Workers' Union in 1943; member of the General Council of AITUC in 1943, 1945 and 1947; also a member of its Working Committee and a delegate of the Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union at the February 1947 AITUC session. Active in peasant and labor organization work for many years; described as an "elder statesman" (and one of the more important Communists in Bengal). He is listed as Communist member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly in 1945; was a candidate in Howrah in the elections of 1946 for the Legislative Assembly, but was defeated by a Congress Socialist. Listed as a member of the Party Central Committee in 1945. He participated in the March 1948 Congress of the Communist Party of India in Calcutta.

MUKHERJEE, Biswanath

Prominent Bengal Communist and member of the Central Committee.

Listed as a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India at the First Congress in May 1943. Was a delegate from the Bharat Jute Mills Labour Union at 22nd session of AITUC at Calcutta in February 1947. In February 1948 he was a delegate of the All India Students' Congress to the Southeast Asian Youth Conference in Calcutta; and was among those delegates who boycotted the conference after February 23, 1948. A member of the Central Committee panel selected at the Second Congress of the Communist Party in Calcutta, February 1948; arrested with his wife, Goeta when the Communist Party was banned in Bengal in 1948.

NAMBOODRIPAD, E. M. Sankaran

Former member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India.

Member of one of the leading Brahmin landlord families of Malabar; organized and led social reform movement among youths of landlord class; took part in civil disobedience movement of 1930-1932; later joined the Congress Socialist Party. Twice held the post of Secretary in the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee; elected member of the Madras Legislative Assembly on the Congress ticket in 1937; member of the All India Congress Committee in 1939; joined the Communist Party in 1940 and was instrumental in leading Congress Socialist Party members into the Communist Party; has made large contributions to Party funds; was Joint Secretary of the Central Kisan Council of the 1945-46 All-India Kisan Sabha. Elected to the Central Committee in 1943; declared in a statement to the press in 1945 that Congressmen and Muslim Leaguers should come together and form with the Communist Party a common front against imperialism, landlordism and black marketing. A member of the executive committee of the Kerala Branch of the All-India Communist Party.

OAK, L. K.

Member of the Central Committee panel of the Communist Party of India, selected February 1948.

First known connection with the Communist Party was in June 1943 when he participated in the First Communist Party Congress and gave a report on Bombay. Presided at a public meeting held by the Party at Kamgar in October 1943 where speeches were made complaining of the inadequate quantity and quality of rice at Government Rations Shops and demanding the release of Congress leaders. At a meeting organized by the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union in January 1946, during a campaign for a Sunday holiday for workers he and S. A. Dange urged the workers to refuse to work on Sundays. Was Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railwaymen's Union delegate to the AITUC Conference in Calcutta, February 1947. As Secretary of the Bombay Committee of the Communist Party of India, in February 1948 he offered the Socialists "the full cooperation of the Communist Corporators." He was arrested by the Bombay police in July 1948.

RANADIVE, Bhalchandra Trimbak

Secretary General of the Communist Party of India.

Active in Communist affairs since the early days of Indian Communism; arrested in the Meerut Conspiracy Case, 1929-33. Elected a member of the Goodwill Mission to Soviet Russia in latter part of 1942 and was granted passport, but was unable to proceed on this Mission for "various reasons" (presumably financial). Participated in first Indian Communist Party Congress, June 1943, and was elected to the Central Committee of which he has been a member ever since.

Active in Bombay labor circles, Ranadive was connected with the Girni Kamgar Union and a leader in AITUC. Represented the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union at February 1947 AITUC conference in Calcutta; served as a member of General Council of AITUC, and of its Working Committee. A member of the Party's Politbureau since 1944; author of numerous books and pamphlets including The Population Problem in India, and a frequent contributor to the People's Age, the Communist and other party publications.

At the Second Congress of the Indian Communist Party held in Calcutta, in March 1948, Ranadive was elected General Secretary of the Party, replacing P. C. Joshi. This was commonly interpreted as a move to place the party under more aggressive leadership in support of the new policy of all-out opposition to the Indian National Congress and the present Government of India. Ranadive had become known as an advocate of the uncompromising revolutionary policy in force since that Congress, and during its sessions made the now familiar declaration that Indian Communists would support the USSR and fight other Indians, if necessary, for the cause of Communism.

Other sources suggested that Joshi was replaced as Secretary General to leave him free to head the newly formed "Asian Cominform", the existence of which has never been substantiated. One of these reports states that under the Cominform, Than Tun in Burma and Ranadive in India would work under coordinated plans framed by Adhikari and executed by Joshi. However, recent reports of Joshi's suspension, if true, would seem to indicate that Ranadive has continued to oppose Joshi's influence and has now succeeded in removing him still further from any position of power in the Communist Party of India.

In August 1948 the Bombay Police Commissioner issued an order for Ranadive's surrender within fourteen days, but he is not known to have been apprehended.

RAO, M. B.

Managing editor of the People's Age. Member, Central Committee, 1948.

First mentioned as a delegate of the Factory Workers' Union, Barwada to the 22nd Session of AITUC in Calcutta, February 1947. Became managing editor, printer and publisher of the People's Age, chief organ of the Communist Party in India in early 1947. Listed in September 1947 as printer, editor and publisher of the

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Communist, monthly organ of the Communist Party, which like the People's Age is printed at the New Age Printing Press, 190-B Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay 4. Arrested in the Communist round-up of mid-1948, Rao's application for release on bail or appeal in a different province were denied by the court in New Delhi.

SEN, Bhowani (also given as Bhabani)

Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, from Bengal.

Delivered a report on Communist Activity in Bengal at the First Congress of the Communist Party of India in May 1943; was elected a member of the Central Committee at this same Congress. Was a member of the Central Kisan Council of 1945-46 from Bengal. Is a contributor to the Communist, monthly organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Participated in the Second Congress of the Party held at Calcutta in March 1948. At this Congress he supported Adhikari in his opposition to Joshi on matters of party policy and described Joshi's attitude as "reactionary." Mentioned in August 1948 as Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Communist Party and editor of the Swadhinata, a Bengali daily whose editor-in-chief is Somnath Lahiri. This newspaper was suspended by the Government of Bengal.

SEN, Ranen

Member of the Communist Party Central Committee from Bengal.

Born about 1915 in Bengal. Considered one of the most important trade union workers in Bengal. In 1934 he organized the Calcutta Match Factory Workers' Union and led their strike the same year. This union was subsequently banned by the Bengal Government. In November 1940 Sen was arrested and released in June 1942. He was elected to the Central Committee of the Communist Party at the First Congress in June 1943; was also elected a member of the General Council of AITUC in 1943, 1945 and 1947. General Secretary of the E. I. Railway Workers' Union in Howrah, Calcutta, and later member of the Executive Committee of the Calcutta Tramway Workers' Union, he led the Calcutta tram strike in September 1945. In February 1947 he was delegate of the Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union to the 22nd session of AITUC. Is a member of the Bengal Provincial Committee of the Communist Party and at the Party's second Congress in Calcutta in March 1948 was included on the Communist Central Committee panel.

SHAH, Kantilal Jannadas

Member of the Central Committee panel selected at the Communist Party Second Congress in Calcutta, March 1948.

Mentioned first in June 1942 as having a joint bank account with P. C. Joshi in the name of the Communist Party of India. In 1946 Shah is listed as a member of the managerial staff of People's Age, the party organ. At the March 1948 Communist Party Congress in Calcutta, Shah was designated a member of the Central Committee panel from Mysore. He is included in a March 1947 list of Communists who constitute "the minor fry who will continue to create trouble and spread disaffection against the Government if left at large" in the event of the Communist Party's being declared unlawful.

SUNDARAYYA, P. S.

Former member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Andhra Communist; joined the National Congress as a young boy and took part in the 1930 civil disobedience movement; was arrested and while in jail became converted to Communism. A member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1943, he took an active part in the First Congress of the Party held in May of that year. He is listed as Joint Secretary of the Central Kisan Council of 1945-46, All India Kisan Sabha.

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